

52

# THE WAR.

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE  
**Young Men's Christian Associations**  
OF  
RICHMOND, VA.,  
AND OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK.

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WITH  
**A LETTER**

ADDRESSED TO THE FORMER ASSOCIATION,  
BY THE  
REV. D. R. THOMASON.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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NEW YORK, *June 7, 1861.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

I have read with much pleasure your very able letter in reply to our deluded Southern brethren, and hope to see it published in pamphlet form.

By none will it be read with more interest than by our brave and self-sacrificing volunteers.

You will see by this morning's papers, that the New York Young Men's Christian Association has made provision for active visitation among these patriots, and for the preparation and distribution of a religious manual for their use.

Awaiting the publication as above, I am,

Respectfully and truly yours,

NOBLE HEATH, Jr.

REV. D. R. THOMASON.

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:O:

NEW YORK, *June 8, 1861.*

NOBLE HEATH, ESQ.,

*Corresponding Secretary of the New York Young Men's  
Christian Association.*

DEAR SIR:

I cannot for a moment hesitate to comply with the request with which you have honored me, to give for publication my letter to the Young Men's Christian Association of Richmond, Virginia, while flattering myself that you may not so far have over-rated its merits as that its publication shall prove a useless expenditure. The opportunity is gladly embraced of laying this humble tribute of patriotism on the altar of my country; and although I may not hope that this poor effort of mine will avail to stay the uplifted sword which is to drink the blood of my fellow citizens in fraternal strife, it is nevertheless a relief to breathe a prayer that the dreadful scourge may be averted and to cherish the fond wish to be instrumental in securing a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

D. R. THOMASON.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION ROOMS, }  
 RICHMOND, VA., May 6th 1861. }

*To the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America:*

BRETHREN: We have determined by the help of God. to address you in the character of peace-makers. In connection with the Confederacy of Christian Associations, we trust that we have secured the confidence and love of many of your members, and we are conscious that we sincerely reciprocate their sentiments. You will then regard with some respect the statements we may make in reference to the present condition of our country. Many of those who participated with us in the christian fellowship which was exhibited by the delegates from the various parts of our beloved country, at the annual conventions held in Troy, Charleston, Baltimore, Cincinnati and New Orleans, will doubtless be willing to unite with us in an earnest effort for the restoration of peace and good-will between the contending parties.

Through the distorting medium of the press, there is a misunderstanding between the North and the South as to their respective positions. If there could be a fair representation of the sentiments of the better portion of the people at the North and the South, we should not present the melancholy spectacle of a great nation involved in a civil war, which must be productive of the most disastrous consequences to the material and spiritual interests of each section. The separation of the South from the North is irrevocable, and the sooner this great fact is acknowledged by the nations of the earth the better will it be for the interests of humanity. The conquest of either section by the other is impossible. You can have no doubt of the truth of this proposition, if you consider the teaching of all history in regard to the ability of an invaded country to repel its invaders, where the numbers are nearly equally divided, and the courage of each is unquestioned. In the present contest there is a unanimity of sentiment on the part of the South to maintain its independence and to repel invasion, which has been unexampled in the history of the world. In this community almost every person capable of bearing arms is ready to volunteer in the service of the State. Our Association, and even the ministry, is largely represented in the ranks of the army. The South has no desire to invade the soil of the North, or to take from it any of its rights. We only ask to be permitted to govern ourselves in accordance with the principles which were guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and which were maintained by the North and the South in the Revolutionary war. The wisest and best men of both sections recognized these principles, and we do not now advocate a war of aggression or conquest.

As Christians let us discountenance the misrepresentations of



each other which are so frequently made, and let us labor earnestly in the cause of peace. In November last, we united in a call upon the President of the United States for the appointment of a day of humiliation and prayer to Almighty God for a blessing on our country, and in answer to our prayers the fratricidal hand has thus far been withheld by a merciful Providence. Let us again unite our prayers and efforts for the restoration of peace and good-will between the Northern and Southern Confederacies.

With the sincere hope that we may be able to congratulate you at our approaching Convention in St. Louis upon this auspicious result, we remain yours fraternally,

WM. P. MUNFORD,  
JOEL B. WATKINS,  
WM. H. GWATHMEY.

—:O:—

BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, *May 14, 1861.*

TO WM. P. MUNFORD, JOEL B. WATKINS, WM. H. GWATHMEY.

*Gentlemen:* Your letter of the 6th inst. has just reached me. Like every other document which comes from the South, there is in your letter a mixture of truth and error. For instance, you say, "Through the distorting medium of the press there is a misunderstanding between the North and the South." Now it is true that the press has "distorted" the truth in certain instances in the North, and entirely suppressed it in the South in every instance where it did not accord with the interest of slavery. But I cannot believe there is any longer a "misunderstanding between the North and the South." There is but one question now—viz: *Have Southrons the right to rule the Union until they lose an election and then destroy it?*

The South says "Yes." Young and old, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, religious and unconverted, North, East and West say "No."

The whole North recognizes the war as a holy effort to maintain good Government. The cross upholds the flag on our churches, and in every assembly the good old Union hymns are sung amid tears and cheers of generous, godly people, who yet love you and pray for you though they deny and will die before they will consent to the right of Secession. The only possible way for us to consent to separation is through a National Convention. Come back to your allegiance, call such a convention by your votes in Congress, and you can certainly go. This will be regular. But our very existence is imperiled by your hideous "secession." No Government could stand a year upon such a basis. We never can admit it. We are not ignorant of loss and hardship,

and we can learn death. But we cannot consent to throw away all for which our fathers fought, nor to call our glorious Government a failure.

Indulge me in one word more. Slavery is wrong. You have determined to defend that wrong. You have counted no cost in defending it even before it was assailed, but have been willing even to destroy our Government for fear it might be. May God forgive you; your position is utterly false, and my heart bleeds that men calling themselves Christians can connect themselves with so wicked a cause, even calling it holy, and daring to compare it with that of our God-protected fathers!!

Your Christians will meet ours in battle. The 7th regiment of New York numbers many of our members. The 12th and 71st as well; and to-morrow the 9th takes others, active, earnest Christians. Dr. Tyng's son is second in command of a company now in Washington. My friend Mr. Abbott, Corresponding Secretary of the Trenton Association, is also under arms. Mr. Haddock of Troy writes me the same.

Upon you and your "institution" must rest the responsibility of this fratricidal war, and shirk it or dissemble it how you may, God will require an account of every man who abets the treason of the South. I cannot pray for the Southern Confederacy.

NOBLE HEATH, JR.,

*Cor. Sec. N. Y. Young Men's Christian Association.*

JERSEY CITY, May 23, 1861.

*To the Young Men's Christian Association of Richmond :*

GENTLEMEN :

I have read the correspondence which has passed between you and your brethren in the city of New York, and I feel constrained to address you on the momentous subject of that correspondence. It may be something in the way of apology for this liberty, if apology be necessary, to state that some two years since, it was my privilege to dedicate to the Young Men's Christian Associations in the United States, a small volume, which has been favorably received, entitled "Fashionable Amusements"; and yet, further, that I have been a citizen of the South, where I spent many years, perhaps the happiest of my life; that I feel therefore a warmly affectionate interest in her welfare; and, although conscious that it is not in my power to say or to do anything to aid her in this the hour of her trial, yet I cannot decline the opportunity afforded me of indulging the yearnings of my heart, and attempting to relieve its anguish. "*Your Christians*," says my friend Mr. Heath, "*will meet ours in battle*." I shudder at the thought—young followers of the Saviour, the flower of his flock and the hope of his Church, who in times past "have taken sweet counsel together and walked to the house of God in company," meeting in bloody conflict and at the point of the bayonet, passing each other's souls to the eternal world! Who can bear the reflection? Pardon me, therefore, my dear young friends, for attempting, perhaps a useless task, to prevent the horrible fratricide. Is it too late? Is it passed the eleventh hour? If not, I beseech you by the love of Christ, to hear me for a moment, while I plead with you at the bar of reason and of conscience, and in sight of the Cross.

I shall not enter into the merits of the unhappy controversy which has divided the two sections of our beloved country and threatens to bring them into bloody collision; I will not touch on the vexed question of slavery, only to remark that since I left the South, a great change has taken place in public sentiment in relation to it. Then it was almost universally conceded, (I speak of the Christian part of the community,) that slavery was an evil, political, social and moral, fastened originally on the American Colonies by the Parent Government, against their consent and in opposition to their repeated protest—an evil difficult to remove, but which it was hoped God in his own good time would happily dispose of. It was thus then we spoke of slavery. I remember that when the Rev. Dr. Smiley, of Amity Co., Mississippi, published a book entitled "*Slavery No Sin*," copies were sent to us with a request that



we would examine it and pass judgment on it ; not a single member of our Presbytery, (and I think I am correct in saying of his own either,) was willing to endorse it. Highly as we respected the author of the work, we all regretted its publication. Now the doctrines of that book are orthodox in our Southern Churches. In a recent number of the New Orleans Christian Advocate, slavery is claimed as "the faith once delivered to the saints," and the war now impending is declared to be "a holy war." "The nature of the trust providentially committed to us," says Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, in his late thanksgiving sermon, "is to conserve and perpetuate the institution of slavery as now existing among us." Contrast these sentiments with those embodied in the following resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the year 1818 :

*"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoins that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them."*

But this is not the point to which I now invite your attention. I wish you seriously and impartially to enquire, what will be the probable issue of the present appeal to arms? I need not say that this is a question which prudence dictates, and demands to have thoroughly sifted. "What King going to make war against another King, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?" "It is natural to man," says Patrick Henry, "to indulge the illusions of hope." This, gentlemen, is your danger, and your letter shows it. You say, "The conquest of either section by the other is an impossibility," and you add, "You can have no doubt of the truth of this proposition if you consider the teaching of all history in regard to the ability of an invaded country to repel its invaders, where the numbers are equally divided, and the courage of each is unquestionable." How erroneous is this proposition, a moment's careful examination will show. It is built on a two-fold fallacy. In the first place the war now impending is not a foreign, but an internecine war. The American people have no invaders to repel from their shores, they are at strife with one another. In the second place, the numbers of the contestants are not equal, but greatly disproportionate, at least two to one. I cannot now go with you through the pages of history to show how loose and incorrect is your assertion, even in regard to foreign wars. But if we take the teachings of history in relation to civil wars, we shall find them to be in the very teeth of your assertion. Braver men than your own



ancestors, the cavaliers of King Charles, never drew sword. In numbers they more than equaled their foes, but Cromwell conquered them, and during the remaining portion of his life—a period of nine years—these proud and gallant men bowed their necks to his salutary but iron yoke ; and I need not remind you that in the impending conflict, precisely the same elements will meet which came into such fierce and terrible collision on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby. It is the boast of South Carolina's gallant sons, to whom the little garrison at Fort Sumter struck its flag, that the blood of England's proud Cavaliers flows uncontaminated in their veins ; and the handful of brave men of the Massachusetts 6th, who the other day passed through Baltimore amid the deadly missiles hurled by an infuriate mob, are not less proud of their descent from the "Old Ironsides" whom Cromwell led from victory to victory until tyranny bit the dust. To make good your argument from "the teaching of history," you must prove that history can never repeat itself, and that what has been done once cannot be done again.

Shall we take another lesson at the feet of history ? She will bring us down to a later date, and furnish even a closer parallel. The Swiss are proverbial as well for their indomitable courage as love of liberty. In the year 1847 seven Cantons seceded from the remaining nine. A bloody conflict ensued, the seceders were speedily conquered and forced back into the Union where they remain to this day reconciled, contented and happy. Pardon me that I have thus corrected your mistake and removed the false prop you have so inconsiderately raised to sustain your hopes. You cannot too deeply feel the responsibility which rests on you in this fearful crisis. You will go to the bar of posterity to be tried in this matter, and what is more, you will go with it to the bar of God, and I would have you appear at both tribunals with clean hands and your skirts clear from your brothers' blood. Let me press on you the consideration that the inquiry, what are the probabilities respecting the issue of the present contest, is not a secular one merely, but moral, involving not only property and life, and the weal or woe of a mighty nation, but virtue and religion, the smiles or frowns of heaven and the awards of eternity. No matter how just the cause may be in which the sword is drawn—no matter how strong the provocation, how deep the wrong or extensive the injury ; a question of expedience intervenes, and that is a question of conscience. When resistance, even in a just cause, is utterly hopeless, resistance, otherwise perhaps a virtue, becomes a crime. To plead the justice of our cause, and then challenge Divine aid in its vindication while disregarding all human calculation, is not fanaticism merely, but impiety. "Cast thyself down," said Satan to our Saviour, "for it is written, He shall give His angels charge to keep thee." See to it

my young friends, that in rushing into this meditated conflict, you do not meet the rebuke administered to the arch Sophist: "Again it is written thou shalt not tempt the Lord Thy God."

Let us then, gentlemen, fairly weigh the chances of this war, and endeavor to ascertain in which scale victory is likely to be found. To me it seems a most unequal combat—that the South will fight at fearful odds—that an overwhelming defeat is inevitable—that the contest is commenced in rashness, bordering on madness, and that it must terminate, if persevered in to the end, in unutterable calamity and woe. You are, for the most part, men of business, and therefore familiar with the statistics of the two sections of country now in collision—their relative population, resources and facilities for conducting a war. You may not, however, accurately know the spirit which animates the North, and the degree of unanimity which prevails. On this point I wish to bear testimony as a competent witness. I offer it in the fear of God and you may trust it.

To preserve the Union in its integrity; to bid the flag of the Union wave over every foot of all its States and Territories; to restore that flag wherever it has been displaced; to make the legitimate authority of the federal Government to be felt and recognized in every corner of the land; to show the nations of the earth that the United States of America is a Governmental Power to be obeyed at home and to be respected abroad, and thus to protect it at once against domestic anarchy and foreign aggression—this is the high resolve, the firm and unbending purpose of the twenty millions of citizens who now rally around the administration at Washington. This new attitude suddenly assumed, I confess, has astonished myself. So marvelous is it that it would almost seem that the influence which has wrought it is not of earth. This form of power is now before me, towering and majestic, firm and resolute; and, what is a yet greater marvel, this *colossus*, harmonious and symmetrical, has been created out of the broken and scattered, and apparently mutually repelling fragments into which the virulent spirit of party politics had separated the community. Previous to the capture of Fort Sumter, had any one in my hearing prophesied that the people in the free states would ever become a unit, as they now are, in sustaining the administration of President Lincoln, I should have met the prediction with a smile of incredulity. When I look back on the past I do not wonder that the South was misled. I read the proclamation of Mayor Wood, issued in January last, and then I read his speech delivered in Union Square in April following—the one rabid with secessionism, and the other "breathing out threatening and slaughter" against secessionists. What a Brutus in the Senate chamber of Cæsar! I read the *Herald* and the whole of the ultra-democratic press of two months ago, and I read it now. What "a deceitful bow" to the South has it proved! But no matter for

the *cause* of the change, we have to do only with the *fact*. When the enemy changes his front, what wise General does not make a corresponding change in the disposition of his own forces?

Nor let us mistake the *nature* of this sudden reaction. It is characteristic of the northern mind, and is ominous for the South. It is not factitious, it is not capricious. It is the snapping of the strong bow by over-tension, and the mighty recoil the South feels. The descending snow on the Alpine mountain hangs with marvellous tenacity to the overhanging brow, and seems to form a superadded structure, firm and enduring as that on which it rests; but when the equipoise of the superincumbent mass in the ponderous but nicely adjusted balance is disturbed, but by a breath of air—the gentlest undulation produced by the broken silence of the awful solitude of the mountain pass—then, with a thunder shock, descends the unexpected avalanche and buries the weary traveling band, or the peaceful goatherd with his flock in the mighty ruins. The echo of Sumter's guns has brought down the northern avalanche, and by it the South, if still resisting, will be inevitably crushed. You should know that the North are a peace-loving, a labor-loving, and a money-loving people. It is the hardest thing in the world to force them away from their work and their money bags; but if they are dragged away, woe to whatever has done the dragging. As has been justly said, it is hard to get them into a fight and as hard to get them out. And they are in for the fight now. The lion in their bosom is roused, for the apple of their eye has been touched—their country's flag has been insulted and dishonored in the eyes of the world—that flag which they love more than peace, more than wealth, more than life; and they declare that a public atonement must be made. They have seen that flag brought from Fort Sumter, torn and tattered by traitorous hands, and they have pressed its mutilated folds to their burning lips and to their throbbing hearts, and watered it with scalding tears, and they have lifted their hands to heaven and sworn by the God of their fathers that with His help, that mutilated flag shall go back to fort Sumter, borne thither by the gallant chief who so heroically defended it, even though it be carried over fields of carnage and through rivers of blood, to float again in triumph on the ramparts from which it has been wickedly torn.

And now, gentlemen, that we have noticed the spirit and purpose of the foe, let us look at their ability to redeem the pledge thus solemnly given. Numerically they are at least two to one of their opponents. In all soldierly qualities they are probably equal, in some doubtless superior. Less impetuous and reckless, their courage is cool, steady and undaunted. Generally speaking they have a better physique, superior power of endurance, and on the whole are better disciplined. Many of them are naturalized citizens, trained soldiers at home, and have seen



battle. I fear, also, you lay too much stress on what you are pleased to call fighting on your own soil and in defence of your hearthstones. Here again you embrace a fallacy. The American citizen, at least of the free States, has from his cradle been taught to call every foot of ground within the limits of the United States his own, his native soil. When Gen. Butler shall meet (if it so happen) Gen. Beauregard in Richmond or Montgomery, they will both alike stand on native soil, and every sod which the foot of the former may press in the combat, he will fight for, not to acquire, but to defend. The star spangled banner (the thirty-four starred banner, I mean) he maintains, is *at home* everywhere in all the States and Territories of the Union, and when he is beneath that banner he feels himself at home too. The American citizen of the North will never allow his fellow-citizens of the South to call the tomb of Washington exclusively theirs, and in the sods which cover the graves of Patrick Henry, and Sumpter, and Pickens, and Morgan, and Marion and other revolutionary heroes, he will claim a joint ownership as long as he has an arm to raise, or a drop of blood to shed in defence of his right. You cannot therefore brace up your loins with this moral girdle of patriotism, it does not belong to you, it does not fit you and you cannot wear it. Fight for what you will, you will not fight for your country. If either party are foreigners, gentlemen, it is yourselves, for you will fight under a foreign flag—foreign to the American people, foreign to their constitution and its laws—a flag without legitimate baptism, without a legitimate name, without any rights which the world is bound to respect. You are by your own act “aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.” I do not mean to say that such a flag may not be intrinsically honorable, even glorious, for many a rebel flag has been. What I mean is, that the vantage ground which in the present instance you claim, is not yours. Every northern soldier with whom you may come in contact, will be a fellow citizen come to you in the name of the Federal Government with a warrant in his hand for your arrest. In executing that warrant, he will, if resisted, ruthlessly trample under foot your most sacred rights, but it will be because they are forfeited rights. He will invade your homes and desecrate your hearths—those homes no longer a sanctuary which the law reveres, for law is broken. You may defend those homes, but it will be with the lawlessness with which the thief or murderer defends his home, which his *Penates* have deserted and which crime has converted into a den. I repeat it, you cannot meet him as a foreign foe invading your shores, and whom patriotism meets with high souled courage, but only as an officer of justice, whose warrant you dispute, and whom therefore you feel justified in resisting. The two relations are essentially different, and the complexion which they cast, and the moral support which they afford are as widely different. To confound them is to mistake the sand



for the rock on which to build the house that is to give you refuge from the approaching storm.

I shall not enter into an examination of one element of your weakness, not to say danger, found in your colored population, because you can estimate it better than I can; but from my personal knowledge of it I confess that if I were with you, I should not be without apprehension lest it should prove like Major Anderson's quarters in Fort Sumter, liable to conflagration when the red hot shot of the enemy shall fall among you. Happy if there be no magazine to explode.

For the serious disadvantages under which you lie in the large numerical superiority of the forces which the enemy will be able to bring into the field, and their still greater superiority in pecuniary resources and war materials, I am at loss to find an adequate countervailing advantage. On the other hand I meet a serious source of discouragement. I refer to the moral support which the United States Government will receive from the whole Christian and civilized world. It is not easy to estimate this disadvantage. We know how hard it is for a good man with the "mind conscious of right" to bear up under the world's reproaches and scorn. The bitterest earthly ingredient in the cup of "the Man of Sorrows," perhaps was this, that "he was despised and rejected of men." If slavery, as you say, is of God, then it is your misfortune that the heavenly gift is despised and held to be an accursed thing; and in the hour of trial this faith of yours must never leave you or, like Peter, you will sink. The spirit of liberty is every where abroad, and men hail it as "the day spring from on high." Garibaldi has won with his sword the inestimable prize for down-trodden Italy, and the nations have woven for him a garland which will adorn his brow while he lives, and be kept green on his grave for ever. Alexander of Russia, has given freedom to twenty millions of slaves as stolid as your own, and Europe applauds the deed.

These Western shores, so say the men of the North, have been chosen and sanctified by heaven as the grand asylum of liberty; there she has displayed the star-spangled banner, inviting the oppressed of all nations to find rest and safety beneath its ample folds, and that banner has received the constant smiles of heaven and the admiration and homage of earth. And now what do the nations behold? that banner, which the children of liberty every where hail as the "bright and morning star" in the political sky, and which, next to Calvary's cross, every true American reveres and loves, stricken down, not by a foreign foe, but by domestic traitors, and in its place impious hands have raised another flag, consecrated to what? to liberty? yes, the liberty of making other men slaves; and the whole civilized world will see in it a leprous rag tainting the pure air of heaven, and they will turn from it with unutterable loathing. It is even so my

young friends. Familiar as you are with the face of slavery, it is impossible for you to conceive how frightful is its mien in the eyes of Christian strangers. They know nothing by experience of the practical workings of slavery in the United States, and they care not to get its "sunny side" view. They will keep on the shady side. Of a well-fed, comfortably clad, contented and happy servile population, affectionate and faithful to their kind masters, wearing the hereditary yoke of a mild and easy bondage, which habit has made not only tolerable but pleasant, they have no idea. They look on slavery only in its abstract form. They insist on recognizing in it a principle at war with the law at once of human and divine justice, and abhorrent to the instincts of humanity. Respecting it they care not to reason, they only feel. In one of your Christian slaves, "in whom Christ is formed the hope of glory"—and you have assured them you have many such—they see a man in the form of Him of Nazareth, robbed of his manhood, reduced from the condition of a person to that of a *thing*, the property of his fellowman—a rational and immortal being bearing the image of his God, redeemed by the Son of God, and sanctified by his Spirit, whose body at death will sleep in Jesus, awake on the resurrection morn to clothe itself in a glorious body like that of the risen Saviour, to stand with Saints and Angels before the throne of God, and do homage there, at once a King and a Priest dwelling for ever in glory and bliss—that immortal man and future saint they see degraded to the condition of a beast of the field; owned as a beast; worked under the lash like a beast; led in chains from place to place like a beast; exhibited and sold in the market-place as a beast; robbed of his offspring like a beast, and it may be fed to the full and cared for like a beast for his owner's profit. This, in the view of Christian men abroad, is American Slavery, to defend and perpetuate which you are now harnessing yourselves for the battle field. They hate it with a perfect hatred, and in the name of God and humanity curse it.

I am aware that the South is building its hopes on British sympathy and aid; but I warn you, gentlemen, of the delusiveness of this hope. All that international law and the comity of nations demand, will be conceded to the South as well as the North by the British Government; beyond this, be sure that it will not and dare not go. Let the British Cabinet or the British Throne, put forth a hand voluntarily or directly to keep four millions of human beings in slavery in any part of God's earth, and that hand would at once be stricken down by an indignant people. I know the heart of my native countrymen, and I know that any attempts at complicity with slavery in America would meet a public frown beneath which its authors would wither, no matter how high the bribe which the South might offer. The public conscience of Great Britain in this matter cannot be bought. Nor indeed, has the South any bribe

to offer ; British statesmanship will soon discover that what England deems her duty is her interest also. An apprehension in the British mind that this contest may not rise to the dignity of a battle for freedom, but only for Northern supremacy, or national integrity, has alone occasioned it to be sparing in expressions of sympathy, and to assume a cold neutrality. Let this apprehension be removed, and England will give to the North her whole heart, and if duty call, pour out her sympathies in her own blood.

Thus defying the opinions of mankind and shocking their moral sense, and in return placed under a universal ban, you will, my young friends, enter into this bloody strife with your American brothers of the North ; and the world's frowns will darken your war path, and crush your martial spirit. Yes, your "youths will faint and your young men utterly fail," while your enemies, under the approving smiles of the wise and the good in every land, will "renew their strength as eagles." "I cannot pray for the Southern Confederacy," says your frank hearted brother of the North. No, nor will a single pious prayer in all Christendom, beyond your own limits, go up to the throne of grace, except for the speedy downfall of the mischievous fabric, and repentance and pardon for its criminal founders.

But there is another fact, to which I must call your attention—one which seems to me to cover the prospects of the Southern Confederacy as with a funeral pall, and shuts out every glimmer of hope. I have alluded to citizens of foreign birth in the Federal army. The zeal with which they have volunteered has not been surpassed by that of our native citizens. There is scarcely a nation in Europe which is not represented in the ranks already mustered into service, in many instances by whole regiments of most effective troops. *And where these brave men come from, there are more*—myriads of them willing to join their fellow countrymen, already naturalized citizens, and to fight under liberty's banner ; and when victory shall be won and peace shall return, sit down under its folds and enjoy the multiplied blessings which it has to bestow. You have probably heard that the British merchants of New York have offered to the Government to bring over, at their own expense, ten thousand Scotchmen to enlist for the war, and afterwards to become settlers on the public lands. The offer has, for the present, been declined, for the reason that many times ten thousand of our native citizens have applied for admission to the ranks for whom as yet there is no room ; but should the future exigencies of the war demand it, President Lincoln, with the consent of Congress, has only to say the word, and Europe would send to our shores a Crusade, such as Peter the Hermit never saw, and these adventurers, together with their companions in arms, native and adopted citizens, would overrun the South, drive its citizens from their home-



steads and plantations, and working along side of slaves—slaves no longer, cultivate the agricultural staples of the South and send them to market at half their present cost. Be sure of this, that there will be no “let up” of this war until its end is reached and “peace is conquered.” Twenty millions of people have through their State Governors demanded this pledge at the hands of the Administration and have received it.

Thus, my young Christian brethren, I have placed this momentous matter before you, conscientiously I know, truthfully I believe. It is for you now to act. Brave men in a noble cause will contend at all cost with *superable* difficulties, and will be stimulated by them in the struggle. Fools and madmen only will sacrifice honor and life in a strife with *insuperable* ones. We called John Brown a mad fanatic; see to it, that you do not win his unenviable distinction, and expiate your folly at the same ignoble cost. I repeat it gentlemen, you cannot conquer the North; and if you cannot conquer, you must yourselves be conquered. It will not be a drawn battle, but a death struggle to the bitter end, if you will have it so, for supremacy. Unless therefore, as some say, judicial blindness has fallen on you, and “God has given you over to a strong delusion,” you will seek to “agree with your adversary quickly.” Do it, I beseech you, without a moment’s delay. Confer with the Young Men’s Christian Associations throughout the South, with the Pastors and Members of your Churches. Unfurl the white flag and ask for a truce until the 4th of July; let your Members of Congress return to their seats in the Capitol at Washington, and there make a fair statement of their wrongs and grievances, and seek by constitutional means redress for them. If no satisfactory adjustment can be made, ask for a peaceable secession, and if this be denied, submit with that moral fortitude which belongs to brave men, and so “bide your time,” waiting on Providence for a coming day of deliverance.

Take gentlemen what I have written for what it is worth. I come to you in this epistle not as an advocate for the North, but as a simple messenger of Truth and herald of Peace. Commending you to God and to the word of his grace,”

I beg to subscribe myself,

Very sincerely your friend,

D. R. THOMASON,